1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone platform, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone platform; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding platforms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu*, an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually elevated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae)*, which also belonged to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanaua*, which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept. These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. Every tribe had at least one *me'ae*, or temple, and at least one *tohua*, or feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had almost always a sacred place consecrated to the work of the fishermen of the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the people of his tribe as *hua'a*, the same word as is used for blood and adop-

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders.

In the article of eating, these people are by no means so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty in their cookery. Captain Cook says he saw them make a batter of fruit and roots, diluted with water, in a vessel that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands which were equally dirty; and when he expressed dislike, was laughed at.

Hogs are the only quadrupeds they saw; and cocks and hens were the only tame fowls. However, the woods seem to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage and fine notes.

With a fine easterly wind they steered till the 17th, when land was seen bearing W. half N., which, upon a nearer approach, they found to be a string of low islets connected together by a reef of coral rocks.

As they steered along the coast, the natives appeared in several places, armed with long spears and clubs, and some were got together on one side of the creek. Two boats well-armed were sent ashore, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them. They saw them land without the least opposition. Some little time after, however, observing forty or fifty natives, all armed, coming towards the boats, they stood close in shore, in order to be ready to support their people in case of an attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after the boats returned on board, when Mr. Cooper informed the Captain that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed they were unwelcome visitors. They brought on board five dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got by exchanges two dozen.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea, was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has something of an oval shape, and is about ten leagues in circuit.

[pp 168 to end, not processed]

/20 cont./

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. 767 856

Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them. 757 832 [856]

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however. 856 832 [178]

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained. 855 515

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house, 864 513

/25 cont./ 864 603
of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior. [856]

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair. 515 ● [183] 302 [824] [439]

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger. 515 [578]

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized. [856]

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic 881

/32 cont./ 826 832 757

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856] is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the couple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [576] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/34/ 832

After puberty, males usually have their first complete 837
heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older 864
married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This [183]
pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to [522]
typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one 833
of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a 836
(Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In [837]
the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing [515] ●
with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of com- [302]
mercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind [177]
the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy [534]
variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing [226]
expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/36 cont./ 589 883
their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence.

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, cloth- 883
ing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are 548
quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted.

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene 883 515
and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the Marquesan adolescents. Careful bathing and use of perfumes 832
and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls.

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: tau tau! -- (fat!), with an [201]
accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act.

/73 cont./

192
831

Aboriginal Obscenities

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 515 white ethnic groups. 648 [538]

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 164
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [753]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/91 cont./ 114
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never- 826
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com- 832
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the 175
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play 864
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation [114]
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), [838]
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states
that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not
specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and 55
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan 193
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. [183]
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928). make frequent reference to
the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individ-
uals. Numerous references are also available to native [302]
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were
used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S.
Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present 302
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the 177
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con- [182]
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics.
Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of [797]
'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to
be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. [831]
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except [263]
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas 182
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. 304
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together;
the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and
the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote
healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy,
pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism 881
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving 182
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious